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A B R I E F
S T A T E

Of the P R O V I N C E of

P E N N S Y L V A N I A .

[Price One Shilling.]

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A B R I E F
S T A T E
O F T H E
P R O V I N C E
O F
P E N N S Y L V A N I A,

I N W H I C H

The Conduct of their A S S E M B L I E S for several Years past is impartially examined, and the true Cause of the continual Encroachments of the *French* displayed, more especially the secret Design of their late unwarrantable Invasion and Settlement upon the River *Ohio*.

To which is annexed,

An easy P L A N for restoring Quiet in the public Measures of that Province, and defeating the ambitious Views of the *French* in time to come.

In a L E T T E R from a Gentleman who has resided many Years in *Pennsylvania* to his Friend in *London*.

T H E S E C O N D E D I T I O N .

L O N D O N :

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BRITISH

A B R I E F

S T A T E

Of the P R O V I N C E of

P E N N S Y L V A N I A.

Dear Sir,

IN your last, you was pleased to desire some Account of the State of *Pennsylvania*, together with the Reasons why we, who are esteemed one of the richest Colonies in *North America*, are the most backward in contributing to the Defence of the *British* Dominions in these Parts, against the present unwarrantable Invasions of the *French*? As I have been many Years a Spectator, and I think an impartial one, of the public Measures pursued in this Province,

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I shall

I shall very readily satisfy your whole Desire. We are now in an alarming Situation, but we have brought the Evil upon ourselves, and Things are now come to that Crisis, that if I was under no Obligation to satisfy your Expectations, yet I should deem my Silence an unpardonable Neglect of the Duty I owe to my Country. —

You were rightly informed when you were told that, of all the *British Colonies in North America, Pennsylvania* is the most flourishing. Its Staple is chiefly Provisions of which it produces enough to maintain itself, and a Hundred thousand Men besides. From the Port of *Philadelphia*, at least 400 Sail of Vessels clear out annually. The Inhabitants are computed at about Two hundred and twenty thousand, of whom, it is thought near one half are *Germans*. Of the Residue not quite two Fifths are *Quakers*. Above that Number are *Presbyterians*; and the remaining Fifth are of the *establish'd Church*, with some few *Anabaptists*.

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The Legislature is composed of a Governor and Assembly; but the Council makes no Part of it. The Assembly are chosen annually, and claim a Right, by Charter, to sit on their own Adjournment, without being prorogued or dissolved by their Governors, although the *Attorney-General* of *England*, and many other eminent Lawyers, have given their Opinion to the contrary. The Powers they enjoy are extraordinary, and some of them so * repugnant, that they are the Source of the greatest Confusion in the Government. In order clearly to make this out, we must look backward a considerable number of Years.

As the Colony was first settled chiefly by *Quakers*, the Powers of Government rested for the most Part in them; which they conducted with great Mildness and Prudence, not having as yet conceived any Thoughts of turning *Religion* into a *political Scheme of Power*.

* In some Instances they have both a *legislative* and *executive* Power.

A great many Circumstances concurred to fix them in the good Opinion of the World. The First of this Profession strove to recommend themselves by their strict Honesty, and were a sober, thoughtful People. The civil Constitution was then in its Infancy, and its Principles sound. No great Art was required in the Administration of it, and no bad Effects were felt from the extraordinary Privileges granted to the People, for the more expeditious Settlement of the Colony.

Those who have made Politics their Study, know very well, that Infant-Settlements flourish fastest under a Government leaning to the republican or popular Forms, because such a Government immediately interests every Individual in the common Prosperity, and settles itself at once on a broad and firm Basis. Moreover, the People being but few, and but small Profit in public Offices, the Government may also be administer'd without the Faction and Anarchy incident to popular Forms. But in Proportion as a Country grows rich and
popu-

populous, more Checks are wanted to the Power of the People ; and the Government, by nice Gradations, should verge more and more from the popular to the mixt Forms. Thus it may happen that a Constitution which shall preserve *Liberty* and excite *Industry* in any Country, during its Infancy, shall be prejudicial to both, when Circumstances are altered.

For these Reasons, a civil Constitution can neither be preserved nor completed, unless, in the Distribution or Lodgment of Power, nice Regard is paid to all the Fluctuations in Trade, Property, and other Casualties ; and should either Wisdom or Opportunities be wanting to adjust the Constitution to these Circumstances, it must fall naturally into Convulsions ; and, unless it is able to purge itself thro' the Strength of its *Stamina*, it must linger into certain Dissolution. Upon these Principles, all the Flux and Revolutions of Empires may be accounted for.

Now to apply these Maxims to *Pennsylvania*. The *Quakers*, as was hinted, could not fail to get Credit by their Administration,

tion, under the above-mentioned Circumstances. Their Successors, who were quite a different Sort of Men from the Founders of this Province, finding themselves established, quickly enlarged their Views, and have continued the Power in their own Hands till this Time, without leaving a Chance for those Struggles and Contentions about it, by means of which the Constitution might have been purged, improved, and adapted to the Change of Circumstances.

Thus, in direct Contradiction to the Rule laid down above, the People, instead of being subjected to more Checks, are under fewer than at first; and their Power has been continually increasing with their Numbers and Riches, while the Power of their Governors, far from keeping Pace with theirs, has rather been decreasing in the same Proportion ever since. The Consequence of this is clear. The Government, instead of drawing nearer to the *mixt Forms*, as it ought in Proportion to its Growth, is now, in fact, more a *pure Republic*, than when there were not ten thousand Souls in it. The Inconveniencies of
this

this we now begin to feel severely, and they must continually increase with the Numbers of the People, till the Government becomes at last so unwieldly as to fall a Prey to any *Invader*, or sink beneath its own Weight, unless a speedy Remedy is applied. —

Tho' many Circumstances concurred to bring us into this sad State, yet the chief Source of the Evil was what follows :

In the Year 1723, the old Proprietor *William Penn*, being lately dead, and his next Heirs, at Law among themselves about the Government and Soil, Sir *William Keith*, who was then Governor, falling into the Hands of the Assembly, passed a Law, giving them the sole Disposal of all public Money, in manifest Contempt of all the Instructions of the Proprietary Family.

This entirely completed the Scheme of Power our Assemblies had been long aiming at, by rendering all succeeding Governors, and all the Officers of the Province, dependent upon them ; for now they annually either vote or with-hold the Salaries

of the Governor and all such Officers, according as they are, or are not, the Creatures of the Assembly. And indeed most of them must be so; for our Assemblies have wrested, out of the Hands of the Governor, the Nomination of a great many of the * Officers that hold the most lucrative Posts in the Government.

Possessed of such unrestrained Powers and Privileges, they seem quite intoxicated; are factious, contentious, and disregard the Proprietors and their Governors. Nay, they seem even to claim a kind of Independency of their Mother-Country, despising the Orders of the Crown, and refusing to contribute their Quota, either to the general Defence of *America*, or that of their own particular Province.

As a glaring Instance of the former, I need only mention their Opposition to Governor *Thomas*, in raising Soldiers to send against the *Spaniards* in the *West-Indies*, and their absolute Refusal to contribute a Farthing for that Service. Since that Time, during

* Such as the Provincial Treasurer; the Trustees of the *Loan-Office*; the Collector of the Excise, Brander of Flour, Brander of Beef and Pork, Health-Officer, &c.

during the whole Course of the late War, they have often been called upon by the Crown, and by Governor *Shirley* of the *Massachusetts*, for the Expedition against *Cape-Breton*, &c. To all which, if they have at any Time contributed, it has been done indirectly, and in a Manner shameful to this rich Province; so grudgingly, and in such small Sums, as rather to hurt than serve the common Cause.

Forgetful of the public Good, they seem wholly to have employed themselves in grasping after Power, altho' it is plain they have already too much of this, and such as is really inconsistent and self-destructive.

Nor have they been more attentive to the Defence of their own particular Province, than of his Majesty's *American* Dominions, in general.

In *Pennsylvania*, we have but one small Fortification, and that raised and supported at the Expence of private People. The Proprietors, indeed, generously made us a Present of twelve large Cannon, part of the twenty-six we have mounted, and they have

also given the Gunner of the Fort a Salary of twenty Pounds *per Annum* towards his Support †. We are otherwise entirely naked, without Arms or Ammunition, and exposed to every Invasion, being under no Obligation to military Duty. In the last War, one of the *Spanish* Privateers came up the *Delaware*, within a few Miles of this City; and when those, who were not *Quakers*, took the Alarm, and associated themselves for the Defence of the Country, they not only received no Encouragement from the Assembly, but were abused and reproached for their Pains, and the *Dutch* or *Germans* kept back from joining in the Association, by all possible under-hand Practices.

The

† The honourable Proprietors also proposed to our Assembly five Years ago, That if the Assembly would give Money for building a Strong-House on the *Ohio* (not venturing to call it Fort, or any Thing that implied Defence) they, the said Proprietors would, on their Part, contribute any reasonable Proportion to the building and supporting of the said Strong-House. But this Proposal, like many others, was rejected with Scorn, merely, perhaps, because it came from the Proprietors; nor was it so much as thought worthy of a Place in their Minutes; though it is clear, if it had been complied with, the *French* had not now been fortified in the same River, as they now are.

The *French*, well apprized of this defenceless and disjointed State, and presuming on the religious Principles of our ruling People, have, the Year before last, invaded the Province, and have actually three Forts, now erected far within the Limits of it. Justly, therefore, may we presume that, as soon as War is declared, they will take Possession of the whole, since they may really be said to have stronger Footing in it than we, having three Forts in it supported at public Expence, and we but one small Fort, supported only by private Gentlemen.

'Tis true our Neighbours, the *Virginians*, have taken the Alarm, and called on our Assistance to repell the common Enemy, knowing that if the *French* hold Footing in *Pennsylvania*, their Turn must be next. In like manner, the several Governors, and ours among the rest, have received his Majesty's gracious Orders to raise Money, and the armed Force of their respective Governments on such an Emergency ; and had these Orders been complied with last Winter, the *French* would neither have been able to drive the *Virginians* from the

Fort they had begun in the back Parts of *Pennsylvania*, nor yet to get Possession of one third Part of the Province, which they now have undoubtedly got thro' the Stubborness and Madness of our Assemblies.

But here two Questions will naturally arise.

1. Why are our Assemblies against defending a Country, in which their own Fortunes and Estates lie, if it is really in Danger?

2. Why have not the several Sums been accepted, which they have offered for the King's Use?

With regard to the first, it may seem a *Solecism* in Politics, for a People not to defend their own Property when it is actually *invaded*, unless they were certain of the Friendship of the *Invaders*.

I shall not, however, be so uncharitable as to suppose our political *Quakers* reckon it indifferent, whether, or not, the *French* shall make themselves Masters of this Province,

vince, notwithstanding Persons at a Distance may be apt to judge so for the following Reasons. 1st, From the continued Refusal of our Assemblies to defend the Province. 2^{dly}, From the extraordinary Indulgence and Privileges granted to *Papists* in this Government:—Privileges plainly repugnant to all our political Interests, considered as a Frontier-Colony, bordering on the *French*, and one half of the People an uncultivated Race of *Germans*, liable to be seduced by every enterprizing Jesuit, having almost no Protestant Clergy among them to put them on their Guard, and warn them against Popery.

Tho' this might be insinuated, yet from Observation I have Reason to believe, that most of the *Quakers* without Doors are really against Defence from Conscience and their religious Tenets; but for those within Doors, I cannot but ascribe their Conduct rather to Interest than Conscience.

Our Assemblies apprehend, that as soon as they agree to give sufficient Sums for the regular Defence of the Country, it would strike at the Root of all their Power, as
Quakers,

Quakers, by making a *Militia-Law* needful, in Time of Danger. Such a Law, they presume, would alter the whole Face of Affairs, by creating a vast Number of new Relations, Dependencies, and Subordinations in the Government. The *Militia*, they suppose, would all vote for Members of Assembly, and being dependent on their Officers, would probably be influenced by them. The Officers, again, as they imagine, would be influenced by the Government; and thus the *Quakers* fear they would soon be out-voted in most Places. For this Cause, they will suffer the Country to fall into the last Extremity, hoping that when it is so, our Neighbours will, for their own Sakes, defend it, without obliging them to pass a Law, which, they fear, would so soon strip them of their darling Power. But this Backwardness of theirs has quite a contrary Effect; for the neighbouring Colonies, seeing this Colony, that is immediately attacked, doing nothing, refuse to exert themselves for a People, who are able, but unwilling, to defend themselves.

Thus much in answer to the *first* Question.

With

With regard to the *second*, little need be said to shew why the Monies they have offered for the King's Service never could be accepted of. For while they have the foresaid Apprehensions from a Law for the Defence of the Country, it must be plainly repugnant to their Interest, ever to offer Money for this Purpose, unless in such a Manner as they know to be inconsistent with the Duty of a Governor to pass their Bill into a Law. This will be fully understood from what follows, which will also shew by what Means they save Appearances among the People, without doing any Thing for the Public.

There was a royal Instruction sent to all the *English* Governors in *America*, upon the humble Address of the Lords and Commons, signifying, That under Pain of his Majesty's highest Displeasure, they shall not pass any Act for the Emission of Paper-Money, without a suspending Clause, that it shall not take Effect till his Majesty's Pleasure is known. Since that Time, upon Petition of the chief Merchants in *England*, an Act of Parliament was passed, entirely restraining

restraining the four *New-England* Colonies from emitting any Paper-Bills at all, except in the Case of an Invasion, or some great Emergency, and then the same to be sunk in a few Years. But the *Southern* Provinces still continue under the Force of the Instruction.

Our late Governor, Mr. *Hamilton*, upon receiving his Majesty's Orders to arm the Province, solicited the Assembly last Winter, to raise Money, and enable him to pay a proper Obedience to the royal Commands; but they totally disregarded him, and adjourned themselves. Upon receiving an Account that the *French* had driven the *Virginians* from their Fort, he again called the Assembly, conjured them to obey his Majesty's Orders, and demonstrated the imminent Danger to which their Refusal would expose not only themselves, but all the *British* Colonies. He at the same Time let them know, that tho' his Instructions restrained him from passing any Paper-Money at all without a suspending Clause, yet, in the present pressing Emergency, he would risque it, provided they would vote handsomely, and sink it within the Time prescribed

bed by Act of Parliament, in the Case of *New-England*. Then, and not till then, they voted 10,000 *l.* for his Majesty's Use, redeemable by the Excise in twelve Years, for which Time the Bills were to be sunk annually in equal Proportions.

In that Space the Excise would raise 45,000 *l.* viz. 10,000 *l.* for the King's Use, and the remaining 35,000 *l.* would have been at their own Disposal for what Uses they might think fit.

The Governor, therefore, justly considered, that if he should pass this Bill, it would be giving the Government out of his Hands, and rendering himself and his Successors entirely unnecessary in the Administration for twelve Years. It would be putting 35,000 *l.* into the Hands of the Assembly, still more to increase their Power, and lay out in Schemes to abridge the Powers of their Proprietors and Governors; for tho' the Preambles to all our Money-Acts, and to the Excise, say that the Interest-Money, and what arises from the Excise, are to be applied to the Support of Government; yet they apply

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it as they please, *viz.* to distress all who oppose their Measures, and for building Hospitals, purchasing Lands, Libraries, &c.

For these Reasons, and considering also that the Money was to continue seven Years longer than the Act of Parliament allows, the Governor refused his Assent; upon which they adjourned, altho' they knew very well before they proposed the Bill, that he could not give his Assent, without incurring his Majesty's highest Displeasure.

Upon the News of *Washington's* Defeat, last Summer, the Governor again summoned them, and intreated them to consider the melancholy Situation of Affairs, and fall upon Ways and Means to repel the Enemy, consistent with his Duty to pass it; he having, in the mean Time, received Sir *Dudley Rider's* Opinion, that he could not, with Safety to himself, pass such an Act as they wanted. They then voted him 15,000 *l.* to be raised exactly as before, being certain the Governor could not venture to pass it. Accordingly, upon his Refusal, they again adjourned,

adjourned, and to intimidate other Governors from daring to dispute their Commands, with-held his yearly Salary.

Mr. *Hamilton*, a Gentleman of great Honor, Probity, and good Sense, having for some Time foreseen, that with such an obstinate and perverse People, he could never, as Governor, enjoy Ease to himself, nor be in a Capacity either to obey the King's Instructions, or be of any real Service to the Province his native Country, had wrote over to the Proprietors to send him a Successor, assuring them he would no longer continue to act as Governor.

Upon the Appointment of the Proprietors, he was accordingly succeeded by the Hon. *Robert Hunter Morris*, Esq;

This Gentleman, upon his coming into the Government, immediately spoke, in the most pathetic Terms, to the new Assembly, composed of the old Members.—

After a short Adjournment, they met and offered a Bill for 20,000 *l.* conceived in the same Terms as before, *viz.* to make the Paper-Money extend for twelve Years, though the new Governor had told them before-hand, that he was subjected to the same Instructions as his Predecessors, and could not pass any such Bill into a Law.

Thus their whole Conduct has been of a Piece in this Country, tho' I am well assured it is very much disapproved of and condemned by their Brethren the *Quakers* in *England*, who are justly esteem'd a quiet and upright People, such as we already observ'd the first *Quakers* in this Province were. It is very plain they have no mind to give a single Shilling for the King's Use, unless they can thereby increase their own Power; but they keep continually voting Money in order to keep the People on their Side; who not being well enough acquainted with the Nature of Government, to understand why the Money-Bills cannot be passed, think every such Rejection of a Money-Bill,

Bill, a Design against their Liberties, and throw the whole Blame upon their Proprietors and Governors, treating their Names in the most insolent and contemptuous Manner.

Hence it is that this Province is reduced to the most miserable Condition.—The People at Variance, and distrustful of each other! A *French* Enemy and their Savage Allies advanced far into our Territory! The People on our Frontiers liable to be murdered or driven from their Habitations! Our Lives and all our sacred Rights exposed an easy Prey!—And all this owing to the Infatuation and detestable Policy of a Set of Men who mind no Consequences, provided they can secure their own Power and their Seats in the Assembly.

A Petition from a Thousand of these poor Families, who inhabit the back Parts of the Colony, was presented to the Assembly, last *August*, soon after *Washington's* Defeat, praying that they might be furnished with Arms and Ammunition for
their

their Defence; but the Petition was rejected with Scorn. Our *Indian* Allies have often desired us to build Forts, to which their Wives and Children might fly in time of Danger, and have just * now sent down to the Governor, begging he would direct the Building a *Stockade*, or wooden Fort, in which they offer to defend themselves and us, from the Incursions of the Enemy; but the Assembly, to be consistent with themselves, and shew that they are religiously bent on the Ruin of their Country, refused to give any Money for this Purpose, and gave the *Indians* for Answer, that if they were afraid of the Enemy, they might retire farther down, and come within the settled Parts of the Province.

Thus the noblest Opportunity was lost that could have been offered, of keeping our *Indians* steady, and for building a Fort at a small Expence, in a Pass so commodiously situated between the Mountains, that it would have effectually covered and defended two of our Frontier Counties, from

* December 1754.

from the Inroads of the *French* and their *Indians*.

From what has been said, it clearly appears how much we suffer by having all public Monies in such Hands. Were the Case otherwise, Matters might be managed with Secresy, Ease, Expedition, Success, and a small Expence, by embracing the proper Opportunities. But these Opportunities, being once lost, are often never to be recalled, as is too well confirmed by the Settlements of the *French* at *Crown-Point* and on the *Ohio*, both which might have been prevented at first, with one fiftieth Part of the Expence it will now take to dislodge them, had not the Hands of all our Governors been tied up, by having the Disposal of no Monies on such Emergencies, nor any Hopes of obtaining it from our Assemblies, if they should advance any Sums for the public Service.

But here it may be justly asked, By what means the *Quakers*, who are so small a Part of the Inhabitants, and whose
Mea-

Measures are so unpopular, get continually chosen into our Assemblies?

Before the late *Spanish* War, a considerable Number of our Assembly were of other Denominations; but at that Time being called upon by Governor *Thomas*, to arm for their own Defence, and the Annoyance of his Majesty's Enemies, they were alarmed with the Prospect of losing their Power, if they should comply, as was shewn above; and therefore they entered into Cabals in their yearly Meeting, which is convened just before the Election, and being composed of Deputies from all the monthly Meetings in the Province, is the finest Scheme that could possibly be projected, for conducting political Intrigues, under the Mask of Religion. They likewise had Recourse to a *German* Printer, who was once one of the *French* Prophets in *Germany*, and is shrewdly suspected to be a *Popish* Emisfary, who now prints a News-Paper entirely in the *German* Language, which is universally read and believed by the *Germans* in this Province. This Man, whose
Name

Name is *Saüer*, they took into their Pay, and by his Means told the *Germans* there was a Design to enslave them ; to force their young Men to be Soldiers, make them serve as Pioneers, and go down to work upon our Fortifications ; — that a military Law was to be made, insupportable Taxes to be laid upon them, and in a Word, that all the Miseries they suffered in *Germany*, with heavy Aggravations, would be their Lot, unless they joined to keep in the *Quakers*, under whose Administration they had so long enjoyed Ease and Tranquillity ; and to force out of the Assembly, all those who were like to join the Governor, in giving Money for annoying the Enemy.

In consequence of this, the *Germans*, who had hitherto continued peaceful, without meddling in Elections, came down in Shoals, and carried all before them. Near 1800 of them voted in the County of *Philadelphia*, which threw the Balance on the Side of the *Quakers*, though their Opponents, in that grand Struggle, voted near 500 more than ever lost an Election before.

The *Quakers* having found out this Secret, have ever since excluded all other Persuasions from the Assembly, constantly calling in the *Germans* to their Aid, by means of this Printer.

But the keeping the *Quakers* in, is not the worst Consequence of these insidious Practices with the *Germans*. The bad Effects of it will probably be felt thro' many Generations.—The *Germans*, instead of being a peaceable industrious People as before, now finding themselves of such Consequence, are grown insolent, sullen, and turbulent; in some Counties threatening even the Lives of all who oppose their Views. The *Quakers*, in order to keep them from taking up Arms in Defence of the Province, or joining in Elections with their Opponents, have much alienated their Affections from the Government, by telling them there is a Design against their Liberties. They are taught to have but one and the same Idea for Government and Slavery. All who are not of their Party they call *Governors-Men*, in Derision. They give out that
they

they are a Majority, and strong enough to make the Country their own ; and indeed, as they are poured in upon us in such Numbers (upwards of 5000 being imported this last Year) I know nothing that will hinder them, either from soon being able to give us Law and Language, or else, by joining with the *French*, to eject all the *English* Inhabitants.

That this may be the Case, is too much to be feared, since, as I remarked already, they refused, almost to a Man, to bear Arms in the Time of the late War. They say it is all one to them which King gets the Country, since, if they remain quiet, they will be permitted to enjoy their Estates, under the Conqueror, whoever he is ; and as they have, many of them, lived under *Popish* Rulers before in their own Country, they give out that they know the worst that can happen.

And, indeed, it is clear that the *French* have turned their Hopes upon this great Body of *Germans*. They have now got Possession of the vast and exceeding fruitful Country upon the *Ohio*, just behind

our *German* Settlements. They know our *Germans* are extremely ignorant, and think a large Farm the greatest Blessing in Life. Therefore, by sending their *Jesuitical* Emissaries among them, to persuade them over to the *Popish* Religion, they will draw them from the *English*, in Multitudes, or perhaps lead them in a Body against us. This is plainly a Scheme laid by the *French* many Years ago, and uniformly pursued till this Time, with the greatest Address; being the true Cause of their continual Encroachments, and holding their Countries by *Forts*, without settling them. When they come near enough to have Communication with our *Germans*, it will be much more their Interest to plant their Colonies, by offering the said *Germans* easy Settlements, than by bringing new Hands from *Europe*; for by such Means they not only get an Accession of People who are accustomed to the Country, but also weaken us, in Proportion as they strengthen themselves.

That now is the Time they propose to put their grand Scheme in Execution is
too

too evident. They are already so near us, that the *French* Camp, and their Forts upon the *Ohio* and the Parts adjacent, are not more than 225 Miles, horizontal Distance, from the City of *Philadelphia*, and only about two Days March from some of our back Settlements. By Accounts received last Week, they have 2000 effective || Men in these Parts, together with

|| Extract of a Letter, dated *Philadelphia*, January 2. 1755.

S I R,

“ Since my last, we have five Days ago received certain
 “ Intelligence that a Body of nigh Six Thousand of the
 “ best Troops of *France*, selected and sent over upon this
 “ particular Service, are just arrived at the lower Fort upon
 “ the *Ohio*, and are employed, even in this rigorous Season,
 “ in fortifying that Country. In *September* last, the *French*
 “ Men of War that brought them over were seen not far
 “ from the Entrance into the River *St. Laurence*, into which
 “ we are now certain they went, and landed at *Quebec*.
 “ After a short Stay in that City, they were seen by our
 “ *Indian-Traders* passing the Lakes, *Oswego* and *Erie*, in
 “ a prodigious Number of *Battoes*, of which the several
 “ Governors received notice, though we did not then con-
 “ jecture that it was an Armament from *Old France*, till
 “ now that we are too certain of it.

“ Notwithstanding of this, our Assembly continues as
 “ obstinate as ever; nor have we as yet any Probability of
 “ their giving any Money for our Defence, although we
 “ hear they are to adjourn in two Days. The Governor
 “ has beseeched them to consider the defenceless State of
 “ the

with a great Body of *Indians* at their Beck.

Now there is no Way of preventing these dreadful Misfortunes with which we are threatened, but to open the Eyes of the *Germans* to their true Interests, and soften this stubborn Genius of theirs, by means of *Instruction*. Faithful Protestant Ministers, and School-masters, should be sent and supported among them, to warn them against the Horrors of *Popish* Slavery; to teach them sound Principles of Government, and instruct their Children in the *English* Tongue, and the Value of those Privileges to which they are born among us. If this can be done, and the

French

“ the Province, and establish a regular Militia, but in vain.
 “ He also observes, that the Activity of the *French* at this
 “ rigorous Season cannot but convince the World, that
 “ they have formed some grand Design with regard to this
 “ Continent, and that they have made their first Attack
 “ upon *Pennsylvania*, as being in the Center, and being
 “ not only the most plentiful, but the most defenceless and
 “ unwieldy of all his Majesty’s Colonies. Having once
 “ got Footing here, they will issue forth upon the other
 “ Colonies on either Side; and as they have such a large
 “ Body already in the Field, we apprehend it is their De-
 “ sign early in the Spring to fortify the Passes in the Moun-
 “ tains; and if they accomplish this, and can find Provi-
 “ sions, they will be able to stand against three Times their
 “ Numbers.”

French driven from the *Ohio*, so as to have no Communication with our † *Germans* for twenty or thirty Years, till they are taught the Value of the Protestant Religion, understand our Language, and see that they have but one Interest with us; they will for the future bravely fight for their own Property, and prove an impregnable Barrier against the Enemy.

But as if it had been decreed by Fate, or the evil Genius of the *Quakers*, that they should never have the same Interest with their Country in a single Instance, it is a Part of their Policy also to oppose every Scheme for instructing and making *Englishmen* of the *Germans*. In order to keep their Seats in the Assembly, they have not only, as I have shewn, suffered the *French* to fix themselves on the *Ohio*; they have not only corrupted the Principles of the *Germans*; but, to be consistent with

† This supposes also that a Stop be put to the Importation of *Germans* into this Province, and that the Migration be turned from us; for if new Hands are continually brought in, and the old Families go back to other Colonies, as they do at present, whenever they begin to get a little Money, and know something of our Language, we shall never make *Englishmen* of them.

with their Interest, they must strive to keep these poor People in the same dark State, into which they have endeavoured to sink them. For they know, that if the *Germans* were instructed, so as to be capable of using their own Judgment in Matters of Government, they would no more be misled by the Arts of a *Quaker* Preacher, than of a lurking *French* Priest.

Hence it is that, by means of their hireling Printer, they represent all regular Clergymen as Spies and Tools of State, telling the People they must not regard any Thing their Ministers advise concerning Elections, since they have a Scheme to elect Men who will bring in a Bill for giving the Tenths to the Clergy, as in some other Countries. It is needless to observe that no such Law can ever be made here, as being repugnant to *Charter*; for our *Quakers*, though they never swear, stick not gravely to affirm and adhere to any Falshood whatever, provided it will support them in their darling Schemes for Power.

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There is nothing they more fear than to see the *Germans* pay any Regard to regular Ministers. Whenever they know of any such Minister in good Terms with his People, they immediately attack his Character by means of this Printer, and distress him by dividing his Congregation, and encouraging Vagabonds and pretended Preachers, whom they every now and then raise up. This serves a double End.

First, According to the Maxim, *divide & impera* — it prevents the People from joining in any new Design, and hinders any Minister from ever having Influence enough to set them right at the annual Elections.

Secondly, By discouraging regular Ministers, it gives the *Quakers* an Opportunity of making more Profelytes.

This is the true Reason why the most considerable and wealthy Sect among the *Germans*, is the *Mennonists*, whose Principles are much the same with those of the

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Quakers;

Quakers ; for they hold it unlawful to take Oaths, or bear Arms. Thus encouraged by our ruling Men, this Sect has a great Influence among the *Germans*, and the *Menonists* are daily increasing by the Converts they make by their great Wealth, which gives them an Opportunity of paying the Passages of their poor Countrymen, who indent themselves to serve four Years for the Money thus advanced for them.

Besides these, there are near one Fourth of the *Germans* supposed to be Roman Catholics, who cannot be supposed Friends to any Design for defending the Country against the *French*. Many are also *Moravians*, who, as they conceal their Principles, are suspected to be a dangerous People, more especially as they hold some Tenets and Customs, as far as we have any Opportunity of judging of them, very much a-kin to those of the Roman Catholics. There are also many other Sects springing up among the *Germans* ; which it would be tedious to name, but most of them are principled against bearing Arms.

I have said enough to shew that never was any Country in a more distressed Condition than this ; and tho' it has flourished in an extraordinary Degree, as it could not fail to do, when it was young, and all these several Sects employed only in establishing themselves ; yet now, when they are grown to Wealth and Maturity, and are not so necessarily employed in their private Concerns, they will turn their Thoughts to the Public, or perhaps against one another ; and thence the utmost Confusion must ensue, if a timely Remedy is not applied, and more Checks contrived to balance their increasing Strength than were necessary at first.

I am sorry it has fallen to my Lot to trace all our growing Miseries to the mischievous Policy of my Fellow-Subjects, the *Quakers*, who regard no Consequences, but holding their own Ground. Truth and Duty obliged me to take up my Pen. We have been too long silent, and had this Representation been made, as it ought to have been, many Years ago, we had

not now been in such calamitous Circumstances.

I must, however, in Justice observe that there have been some honest Spirits always among us, who have left nothing unattempted for the Redemption of their Country. Even as late as last *October*, tho' they knew it was striving against the Stream, those Persons made a noble Effort to convince the *Germans* of our common Danger, and induce them to join in the Choice of Men who would defend the Province, and pay some Deference to his Majesty's Instructions. They reminded the *Germans*, that at their Naturalization, they had solemnly engaged to defend his Majesty's Person and Government against all his Enemies; and that, in case of Refusal, they would be guilty of Perjury. But all was in vain. The *Quakers* held them immoveable, by their usual Insinuations; and we might as soon have attempted to preach the stormy Element into a Calm, as, by Reasoning, to rescue these poor deluded *Germans*, out of the Hands into which they are fallen.

Never-

Nevertheless these worthy Persons imagined it their Duty to exert themselves, not only to convince the *Quakers* that their Measures were disapproved of by the better Part of their Fellow-Citizens, but also to satisfy the Government of *England* that there are still many in this Place, who have not banished all Impressions of Loyalty and Duty from their Breasts.

I can, however, now see no Remedy left among ourselves. We must look to our Mother-Country for Succour, and if it is not speedily granted, this noble Province seems irrecoverably lost. We shall be driven from these beloved Habitations, or else forced to submit once more, not only to civil Slavery, but to Persecution, and that religious Slavery, from which many of our Ancestors left the Land of their Nativity, and sat down in these distant uncultivated Places, amidst the Horrors of the howling Wilderness!

Yet desperate as our Case is here, a Remedy in *England* is easy. Let the Parliament

liament but make a Law to the following Effect :

1. To oblige all those who sit in Assembly to take the Oaths of Allegiance to his Majesty, and perhaps a Test or Declaration that they will not refuse to defend their Country against all his Majesty's Enemies. — This seems the smallest Test of Fidelity that can be required from those to whom the Constitution of their Country, and the sacred Rights of their Fellow-Subjects, are committed in Trust.

2. To suspend the Right of Voting for Members of Assembly, from the *Germans*, till they have a sufficient Knowledge of our Language and Constitution. — This Provision is as reasonable as the former. What can be more absurd and impolitic, than to see a Body of ignorant, proud, stubborn Clowns (who are unacquainted with our Language, our Manners, our Laws, and our Interests) indulged with the Privilege of Returning almost every Member of Assembly? Now a Course of about twenty Years would make them acquainted with all these Things,

Things, if, according to good Policy, we make it their Interest so to be, and give them the proper Opportunities, as I am going to propose. And unless something is done this Way, we may incline them to some bad Measures, and never procure that *Coalition*, which we desire, and which is so much their Honour and Interest.

3. It will therefore be absolutely necessary to encourage Protestant Ministers and School-masters among them, as I hinted already, in order to reduce them into regular Congregations; to instruct them in the Nature of *free* Government, the Purity and Value of the Protestant Faith; and to bind them to us by a common Language, and the Consciousness of a common Interest*.

4. But

* *N. B.* As a considerable Progress is made in a Design of this Nature, and a considerable Sum collected for it, by a generous and public-spirited Society of Noblemen and Gentlemen in *London*, who are all Persons of high Rank and Worth, the Parliament could not do a more effectual Service to the *British* Interest in *America*, than to assist the said Society, by making an annual Provision for instructing poor *Germans* in these Parts, for the Space of twenty or thirty Years, till they are brought into a regular State. Some *English* Schools are already begun, and an excellent Scheme laid for their Government; but without public Aid, it is feared the charitable Contributions of private Persons, will prove utterly inadequate to support a Design of so great national Importance.

4. But after such a Provision is made, it will also be necessary, in order the more effectually to induce the *Germans* to learn *English*, not only to suspend for a Time their Right of Voting for Assembly-men, as by the *second* Article, but also to make all Bonds, Contracts, Wills, and other legal Writings void, unless in the *English* Tongue. For want of some Regulation of this Nature, the greatest Confusion is like to be introduced into our Laws, and Courts of Justice.

5. That no News-Papers, Almanacks, or any other periodical Paper, by whatever Name it may be called, be printed or circulated in a foreign Language. Or, should this be deemed too severe (which I think it cannot reasonably be) then it may be provided, that no such Publication or Circulation be made, unless there be a just and fair *English* Version of such a foreign Language, printed in one Column of the same Page or Pages, along with the said foreign Language.

For

For want of some such Regulation as this, continual Prejudices are propagated among the *Germans*, without our knowing it, or being able to remove them when they come to our Knowledge.

Now a Law consisting of the five foregoing Provisions, or something equivalent, would effectually rescue us from all the sad Train of Calamities I have pointed out; and without such Means, I see nothing to prevent this Province from falling into the Hands of the *French*.

It cannot be expected that private Persons, without the Aid of the Legislature, can long defend the Country, or support the Expence of military Preparations. A few Men among us have already expended large Sums this Way, and can see no End of it.

During the late War, they petitioned his Majesty, setting forth their Difficulties in this Respect, and the defenceless State of the Province; in which they were coun-

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tenanced

tenanced by the Proprietors, who with great Earnestness solicited the Matter, and have on every Occasion been zealous and active for the Defence of the Colony. — The Petition was referred to a Committee of the Privy-Council and the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, who reported in favour of it. But the Petitioners, at that Time, received no Relief, owing, as they presume, to the other weighty Affairs of Government, which then necessarily engrossed the Attention of his Majesty's Ministers. Peace being soon after concluded, the Petitioners remained silent, till we are now again alarmed with greater and more threatening Dangers than ever. Longer Silence would be unpardonable, and the sooner the *British* Nation is acquainted with our State, the more Possibility of Redress will remain.

I may be said, with the greatest Justice, that our Proprietors and our late Governors, have done every thing in their Power to assist us, and keep up to an *English* Constitution; for which they have been reviled, abused, and all imaginable
Steps

Steps taken to hurt them in their Interest, by this perverse and proudest of People, who, under the Mask of extraordinary Sanctity and Conscience, lord it over their Fellow-Subjects.

Whatever be the Consequence, all our Misfortunes can be charged no where but upon our People themselves, and I have shewn that it would be plainly repugnant to their Interest to remedy Grievances. All Redress therefore, must, if it comes, come from his Majesty, and the *British* Parliament, to whom our distressed and melancholy Condition must be humbly submitted. If our Case is longer overlooked, I shall soon begin to think of returning, to spend the small Remainder of my Days in *quiet* with you, and to leave my Bones in the Land where I drew my first Breath. Mean while, permit me to assure you, that,

I am, &c.

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I am, Sir,

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